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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

7 December 1989

Dear Charles,

European Council: Political Texts

Officials of the Twelve have been working on a number of political declarations for Strasbourg. Further work will be done on them before they are submitted to Heads of State and Government on 9 December. You may wish to see the major texts as they now stand with an indication of the changes we shall be seeking.

/// I enclose those on Eastern Europe, the Middle East and Southern Africa. Work so far has been entirely on the basis of drafts in French; and the translations enclosed are our own. The officials translations which will be available at Strasbourg may look slightly different.

In the Eastern European text, the Germans have proposed language on unity through self-determination in the standard formula last used in the NATO Summit communique of May 1989, ie "We seek the establishment of an order of peace in Europe in which the German people regains its unity through free self-determination". Since we have subscribed to this language more than once in the past, the Germans are resisting any challenge to the substance now. On the other hand, the impact of such a statement now is very different from six months ago. It would be right to let the French Presidency, who also have serious doubts about it, make the running, though we are also looking for possible alternative formulations.

In the last paragraph of the text, the reference to European Union (to which some of the Twelve attach great importance) overstates its significance in this context. We shall argue for a form of words such as "progress towards European Union will contribute to the development...".

The Middle East text is broadly agreed at official level, though a number of member states joined the UK in reserving their position on the financial commitments. We are urgently considering whether to subscribe to them: we expect other member states to lift their reserves at Strasbourg. It is national and Community policy to focus on the plight of the Occupied Territories.

I outlined in my letter of 30 November how we would approach the French proposal for a declaration on Southern Africa at Strasbourg. The enclosed text embodies a number of improvements which we have secured, but we shall continue to argue for

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language in paragraph 7 which offers a clear prospect of relaxation of sanctions in response to further change in South Africa, along the lines of the UK statement at Kuala Lumpur. This is likely to meet continuing opposition from others. If our proposal makes no headway, it may be better to secure the deletion of the entire sentence on restrictive measures.

The famine in Ethiopia did not come up at the Malta Summit despite our efforts with both the Americans and the Russians. The European Council meeting offers an opportunity for a high-level statement on this issue. The Twelve have already been considering joint action following discussion at the Development Council and the Foreign Affairs Council, initiated by Mrs Chalker. The prospects of a favourable response to such a proposal are therefore encouraging.

/ I enclose a draft of a possible statement. This highlights the key issue of getting the Ethiopian Government and the rebels to permit food aid to be brought across the lines into the areas at risk in Tigray and Eritrea. It also urges a negotiated settlement of the longstanding conflicts within Ethiopia which have compounded the problems caused by nature. Sir John Fretwell will table this draft at the meeting of Political Directors in Strasbourg on 8 December.

The European Council will also be invited to endorse a short, uncontroversial statement on Chile on the eve of democratic Presidential elections. The French will probably propose a statement on Lebanon to take account of the latest developments. In a change from earlier plans, there will be no formal statement on human rights by the Council, but a Presidency press release summarising the Twelve's activity. The French have decided not to pursue their proposal for a statement on non-proliferation, having concluded (despite encouragement from us and others) that the differences among the Twelve are too wide to bridge.

Jans,
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Private Secretary

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Unofficial translation
of Presidency draft of
1/12/89

**STRASBOURG EUROPEAN COUNCIL: DRAFT DECLARATION ON EASTERN
EUROPE**

1. Change is daily established in Central and Eastern Europe with ever greater strength. A powerful aspiration to liberty, democracy, respect for human rights, prosperity, social justice and peace is asserting itself everywhere. People are demonstrating clearly their will to take their own destiny in hand and to choose the course of their own development. Such complete and rapid change would not have been possible without the policy of opening and reconstruction conducted by Mr Gorbachev.

2. Speaking for the entire population of the Community, we rejoice wholeheartedly at the transformations in train. These are historic events, without doubt the most important since World War II, to which both the emergence of a strong and dynamic European Community and the CSCE process have widely contributed.

3. These changes give rise to the hope that Europe's divisions can be overcome, in conformity with the objectives of the Helsinki Final Act which, through a comprehensive and balanced approach and on the basis of a range of principles which remain entirely valid, aims at the establishment of new relations between European countries in the fields of security, economic and technical cooperation and in the human dimension.

3. [We seek the establishment of an order of peace in Europe in which the German people regains its unity through free self-determination.] (German proposal.)

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4. The hopes that we expressed a year ago in our declaration at Rhodes have already begun to be realised. The progress achieved in the negotiations on conventional and chemical disarmament, the freer circulation of people and ideas, the better guarantees of respect for human rights and fundamental liberties, and the different agreements reached between the Community and certain of these countries have substantially altered the climate of relations in Europe.

5. The European Council is convinced that in present circumstances a sense of responsibility must, more than ever, be shown. Change and the necessary transitions must not work to the detriment of the stability of Europe.

6. It is in this spirit that the Community and its member states intend to lend their support to countries which have embarked on the course of democratic change. They regret all the more the fact that certain regimes continue to stifle the aspirations of their people for more liberty.

7. The Community and its member states are fully aware of the joint responsibility which falls to them in this decisive phase in Europe's history. They are ready to develop with the Soviet Union and other countries of Central and Eastern Europe closer and richer relations, based on strengthened political dialogue and growing cooperation in all fields. In particular the Community is resolved to support economic reforms undertaken in these countries, and to offer assistance via the appropriate bodies towards the establishment of healthy and prosperous economies, in collaboration with other western partners.

8. This resolve is displayed in the European Council's agreed conclusions.

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9. For the future, and in response to further changes, the Community is ready to establish even closer cooperation with these countries.

10. At this moment of reform and rapid change, the Community constitutes and must remain a beacon of reference and influence. It is still the cornerstone of European architecture and, through its openness, the focal point for a future balance in Europe. This balance would of course be still better guaranteed if there were parallel development of the roles of the Council of Europe, EFTA and the CSCE process. One of the merits of the latter is its position as a forum for a joint enterprise between 33 European states, the United States and Canada, two countries to which our peoples are bound by close solidarity.

11. The construction of the Community must therefore continue to go forward: European Union will permit development of a range of effective and harmonious relationships with the other European countries.*

* British reserve on this paragraph

Unofficial translation
of the Presidency draft
of 1/12/89

STRASBOURG EUROPEAN COUNCIL: DRAFT DECLARATION ON THE MIDDLE EAST

1. As the Palestinian uprising in the West Bank and Gaza begins, today, its third year, the European Council wishes anew to underline the imperative need for a political solution to the Arab-Israel conflict. It recalls in this respect the position of the Twelve defined in the Madrid Declaration of 27 June 1989, which called for a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement to the conflict based on the right to security of all states in the region, including Israel, that is to say to live within secure, recognised and guaranteed frontiers, and for justice for all the peoples of the region, which includes recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination with all that this implies.

2. These objectives should be achieved in the framework of an international peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations, as the appropriate forum for the direct negotiations between the parties concerned. The PLO should participate in this process.

3. It is in this spirit that the Twelve have supported the proposal for elections in the Occupied Territories, as a step in the process towards a comprehensive settlement. It is in the same spirit that they encourage efforts aimed at establishing dialogue between the parties directly concerned. They recall efforts they themselves have made in this sense, consistent with the principles that guide their actions in the search for a settlement, most recently through the mission undertaken by the Ministerial Troika.

4. The European Council, greatly concerned by attacks on human rights in the Occupied Territories and recalling the need for the occupying power to respect strictly its obligations arising from the fourth Geneva Convention, which have been particularly neglected in key fields such as education and health, deplores the continued deterioration of the situation in the Occupied Territories. This gravely affects the living conditions of the population, inflicts long term damage on the future of Palestinian society and impedes economic and social development in the Territories.

5. The Community and its member states are determined to increase substantially their aid to the population of these Territories. In the framework of a new triennial convention for 1990/1992, the Community will maintain and increase aid to Palestinians via UNRWA. Since 1971, this has totalled more than 388 mecu. At the same time, the European Council sets the objective of doubling direct Community aid, of which the total granted, since 1981, has been 23 mecu. The Community also intends to contribute to the economic and social development and the collective well-being of the population of the Occupied Territories by action in the fields of health and education and also by support for local Palestinian institutions.

6. In the context of this action, the Community intends to pursue and increase its support to the productive sector which creates employment in the Occupied Territories. Apart from the financing of productive projects, including stronger financial support for inward investment, the Community will promote expansion of exports of Palestinian products to the Community and will seek to ensure that these suffer no discrimination in comparison with analogous products from neighbouring countries.

7. The Community and its member states have expressed their concern on several occasions at the severe difficulties facing the education system in the Occupied Territories. Faced with the closure for 24 months of all institutions of higher education and with periodic hindrance to the functioning of schools, high schools and colleges, they reiterate the appeal made in their declaration of 6 October 1989 to the Israeli government to bring an end without delay to the closure of universities and institutes of higher education in the West Bank and Gaza and insist on the need to guarantee education at all levels. The Community is determined to develop its aid towards the proper functioning of schools and universities.

8. The Community has moreover decided to contribute to the establishment of an overall analysis of the needs of the health care system in the Occupied Territories, in order better to direct future action by the Community and the member states. These needs are important, given the consequences of the uprising and the deterioration in essential public services.

9. In addition, the European Council expresses its willingness to re-establish the links that unite the Twelve and the Arab world across the Mediterranean. It is in this spirit that the conference to be held in Paris on 21 and 22 December has been organised, bringing together the representatives of the two sides with the object of giving new impetus to the Euro-Arab Dialogue so as to reinforce and develop cooperation between the two sides.

Unofficial translation of
the Presidency draft
1 December 1989

STRASBOURG EUROPEAN COUNCIL: DRAFT DECLARATION ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

1. Southern Africa has been, for the past year, the scene of very important developments which have constantly commanded the attention of the Twelve.

2. Most evident among these is Namibia. The signing almost a year ago of the New York accords opened the way to the implementation of Resolution 435. The Twelve had constantly made it clear that this was their wish. The transition process has, so far, taken place in a satisfactory manner and the Twelve wish to express on this occasion their appreciation for the key role played by the UN Secretary General and by his Special Representative for Namibia. Now that the first free and fair elections have enabled the formation of a Constituent Assembly genuinely reflecting the wishes of the Namibian population, the foundations of the new state are being laid before us. The needs of an independent Namibia will be important. The Community and its member states have always been ready to contribute with programmes of aid upon independence. This effort will be additional to the assistance envisaged by all the member states in a bilateral capacity. Namibia will also be welcome within the new Lomé Convention whenever she wishes to accede to it. This position was set out by the Troika to representatives of the ACP states during the recent ministerial meeting on the subject of Southern Africa.

3. Some progress has also been achieved in the processes of internal reconciliation in Angola and Mozambique. A favourable international climate has been used with courage and determination by the leaders of these two countries in order to achieve some significant advances on the way to

peace. The mission carried out by Troika Political Directors to Angola attested to the real willingness of the leaders of that country to bring an end to the conflict which has for many years been a burden to the economic development and well-being of the population.

4. The Community and its member states have decided to mark these developments with a particular effort in aid for the reconstruction and development of these two countries.

5. Finally, in South Africa, the accession to power of President de Klerk has led to several gestures of clemency and a certain liberty in expression which the Twelve have not failed to welcome. These measures, however, are as yet insufficient in relation to the immense task of dismantling apartheid. The establishment in South Africa of a democratic and multi-racial regime through peaceful means remains the objective of the Twelve. They support in this respect all processes which could lead rapidly to a dialogue between the parties. Indeed, only negotiations on a wide basis bringing together authentic representatives of the different sections of the South African population can lead to a lasting settlement. In this respect, the Conference for a Democratic Future which will take place in Johannesburg from 9-12 December is a step in the right direction.

6. In this context, the Community and its member states recall the importance they attach to a programme of positive measures designed to aid the victims of apartheid. In order to prepare for inevitable developments in South Africa, this programme will be strengthened over the coming two years by the creation of new scholarships for study in Europe and multi-racial South African universities. The objective is to facilitate exchanges between the different communities and to permit to their most disadvantaged members the chance of enjoying a better level of education and also to

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contribute to the training of the manpower which a multi-racial South Africa will certainly need in the medium term.

7. The Community and its member states have, moreover, decided to maintain the pressure that they exert on the South African authorities for as long as profound and irreversible change has not been achieved. A new South Africa relieved of racial discrimination, in which all South Africans can live in peace and harmony enjoying equal rights is not a utopian dream. Its establishment will be of vital importance for peace, stability, security and economic development in the entire region and will permit South Africa to recover its proper place within the international community.

EUROPEAN COUNCIL : ETHIOPIA

DRAFT STATEMENT



The European Council discussed the situation in Ethiopia and expressed grave concern at the threat of renewed famine. Heads of State and Government agreed on the urgent need to get food supplies to the hungry. They appeal to the parties to the conflict to allow food to be transported across the lines with the help of the international community. They note that the internal conflicts in Ethiopia have seriously compounded an already grave situation, and urge the parties to redouble their efforts to negotiate peaceful solutions.

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